DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 105 036 UD 015 026

AUTHOR Lusthaus, Evelyn W.; And Others
TITLE Influencing Patterns of Emerging Education Interest Groups in Urban Communities.
PUB DATE Apr 75
NOTE 20p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Washington, D.C., April 1975); Hard copy not available due to print quality of original document

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.76 HC Not Available from EDRS..PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS Case Studies; Citizen Participation; *Community Involvement; *Community Organizations; Decision Making; Educational Administration; *Educational Policy; Models; Policy Formation; Public Policy; School Community Relationship; School Policy; *Systems Analysis; Systems Approach; *Urban Education

ABSTRACT

As the problems encountered by big city school systems have increased, the educational establishment has come under sharp attack in some part because professional educators have unilaterally made far reaching decisions, insulated from public scrutiny. In order to voice opposition to these decisions, some community members have begun to form new community educational interest groups (CEIGs). The relationships these new CEIGs have formed with the educational leaders differ from those formed by the traditional school-community groups. Rather than rallying to the support of the professional educators, these new CEIGs often form to oppose the educational leaders so that they can force them to justify or change their decisions. Thus confrontation rather than cooperation has more frequently become the basis of CEIG-educational leader interactions. To help educational leaders (i.e., administrators and board members) to better understand these new interaction patterns, an exploration of the goals and tactics of the new CEIGs is needed, as well as an analysis of the political interactions that occur between these groups. A systems model is employed here to illustrate, categorize and explore the dynamics of the political patterns of interaction. The model is utilized to interpret data obtained from three CEIGs operating in a large Northeastern city. (Author/JM)

ED105036

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

INFLUENCING PATTERNS OF EMERGING EDUCATION INTEREST GROUPS IN URBAN COMMUNITIES

By

Evelyn W. Lusthaus, McGill University
Charles S. Lusthaus, McGill University
Mike Milstein, State University of New York at Buffalo

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Presented at the 1975 American Educational Research Association
Washington, D.C. April 1975

UD 015026

During the past several decades, as the problems encountered by big city school systems have increased the educational establishment has come under sharp attack. (Conant, 1959; Holt, 1964; Silberman, 1970). To a large extent, these problems are the consequences of rapidly rising school taxes and increasingly complex educational needs. However, the criticisms have also occurred because professional educators have unilaterally made far reaching decisions, insulated from public scrutiny (Gittell, 1967). Many community members have viewed these decisions (e.g., racial integration and sex education) as inconsistent with their children's best interests.

In order to voice opposition to these decisions, some community members have begun to form new community educational interest groups (CEIGS). The relationships these new CEIGs have formed with the educational leaders differ from those formed by the traditional school-community groups, such as Parent-Teachers Associations and Community Advisory Boards. Rather than rallying to the support of the professional educators, these new CEIGs often form to oppose the educational leaders so that they can force them to justify or change their decisions. Thus confrontation rather than cooperation has more frequently become the basis of CEIG - educational leader interactions.

To help educational leaders (i.e., administrators and board members) to better understand these new interaction patterns, an exploration of the goals and tactics of the new CEIGs is needed, as well as an analysis of the political interactions that occur between these groups. A systems model will be employed as a way of illustrating, categorizing, and exploring the dynamics of the political patterns of interaction. This model will be utilized to interpret data obtained from three CEIGs operating in a large Northeastern city.

CEIGs in a Political Perspective

An interest group "...refers to any group that on the basis of one or more shared attitudes (interests) makes certain claims upon other groups in the society for the establishment, maintenance or enhancement of forms of behavior that are implied by shared attitudes" (Truman, 1951). A community educational interest group (CEIG) is an interest group that is based in one community whose interest revolves around educational matters.

Banfield and Wilson suggest that government units such as schools or school districts have both economic and political functions (Banfield and Wilson, 1963). The economic function is to supply goods and services that cannot be supplied by the private sector of the economy. The political function is to manage conflicts that arise relative to resource allocation. The school's political function has increased with the growth of community involvement (Wirt and Kirst, 1972). As this activity increases, it becomes relevant to explore ways of looking at, or modeling, the new politicization of school policy.

It may be useful to view the process as being contested by two groups: (1) petitioners - i.e., the individuals who want to influence the policy decisions of the system; and 2) allocators - i.e., the individuals who are perceived to control the system and who distribute its scarce resources. (Summerfield, 1971) Viewed in this perspective, the CBIGs are the petitioners of the educational system and the educational leaders are the allocators of the system. Thus, the CBIGs try to influence the educational leaders' decisions.

The relationships which develop between the petitioners and allocators, depending upon the values they hold, can be categorized as normative, utilitarian, or coercive. (Etzioni, 1961) Normative relationships occur when petitioners and allocators hold shared values. Frequently the goals of one group are reinforced and aided by the acts of the other groups. Until very recently, most CBIGs in the educational system developed normative relationships with the educational leaders. These CBIGs usually took the form of local Parent-Teachers' Associations or Citizens' Advisory Boards. In both cases, the educational leaders often played a significant role in the initial selection of members of these groups; frequently the members were hand-picked by administrators and school board members. As a result, these groups usually act as defenders of the activities of educational leaders, serving as a useful bridge between the school system and the general community. Kimbrough concludes that PTAs "have often defended the schools against the threatened plunder of extremist movements" (Kimbrough, 1964). In like manner, Knezevich views the purpose of the Citizens' Advisory Boards as providing "two-way communication between the school and the community" (Knezevich, 1969). In short, these CBIGs are often brought into existence at the behest of the educational leaders, work in close cooperation with these leaders to accomplish mutually agreed-upon ends, and communicate the needs of the schools to the community.

Utilitarian relationships develop when petitioners and allocators with differing values realize that there are rational trade-offs to be gained if they cooperat

In this type of relationship, the petitioners and the allocators have different goals, but they view cooperation as a viable method for allocating scarce resources required to move towards their respective goals. In school districts, utilitarian relationships develop when educational leaders make decisions which CEIGs feel are contrary to their best interests. The CEIGs attempt to influence the thoughts and actions of these leaders so that school policies will reflect their own organizations' points of view. Often they emerge to influence key issues such as budget expenditures, hiring and firing policies, bussing controversies, and curriculum questions. For example, at budget times a CEIG that has debated with educational leaders over a particular budget issue may win the issue and then support the educational leaders as they try to get the overall budget passed.

Finally, coercive relationships occur when petitioner and allocator groups with opposing values believe that cooperation is not possible. They treat each other as adversaries, using threats or even force to affect change. These relationships develop when the CEIGs and the educational leaders believe that because their values are incompatible, cooperation is self-defeating. This type of relationship, which frequently results in school boycotts, harassment techniques, and violence, is developed by CEIGs when they believe that it is the only means left to affect policy decisions.

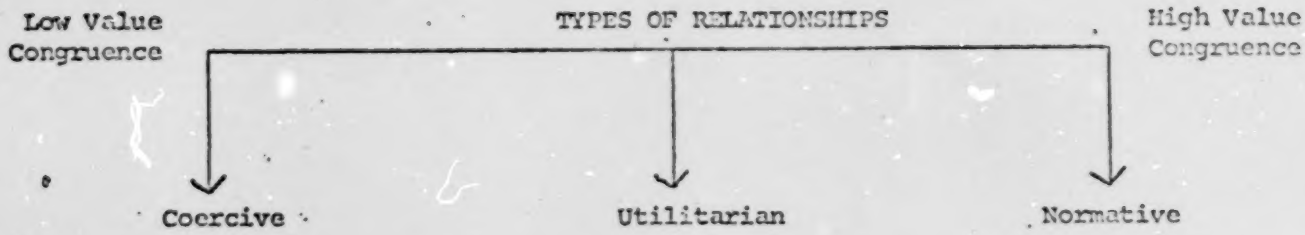
Thus the political system, noted in Figure 1, can be viewed as comprised of two groups: the petitioners, who try to influence the policy decisions and the allocators, who are perceived to control the resources of the system. Depending upon the degree of value congruence among the groups, the relationships that are formed between the petitioners and allocators vary from normative to utilitarian to coercive. The petitioners of the system are the CEIGs; the allocators of the system are the educational leaders. In the past, most CEIGs held values that were highly congruent with those of the educational leaders. Thus, the relationships they formed tended to be normative. In contrast, the CEIGs which are forming today usually have values that are not highly congruent with those of the educational leaders. Thus, the relationships they develop tend to be utilitarian or coercive.

Figure 1 About Here

The relationship of CEIGs and educational leaders should be viewed as dynamic rather than static in nature. That is, as value congruence increases or decreases, the type of relationship to be found will change accordingly. Thus a CEIG may employ coercive relational strategies at one point in time; yet at another point

Figure I

PETITIONERS AND ALLOCATORS



in time, it may employ utilitarian or normative relational strategies, depending upon the degree to which the CEIGs and educational leaders view their values as being congruent. In similar fashion, a single CEIG may employ more than one relational format with educational leaders, depending upon the specific issue.

A Systems Model

It may be useful to view CEIG-educational leader relationships within a system perspective. (Milstein and Belasco, 1973) Such a perspective provides a dynamic interpretation of this important facet of school-related political behavior, as values are translated into policy. The systems notions of inputs, thruputs and outputs highlight the chronological facets of this relationship (see Figure II).

Figure II About Here

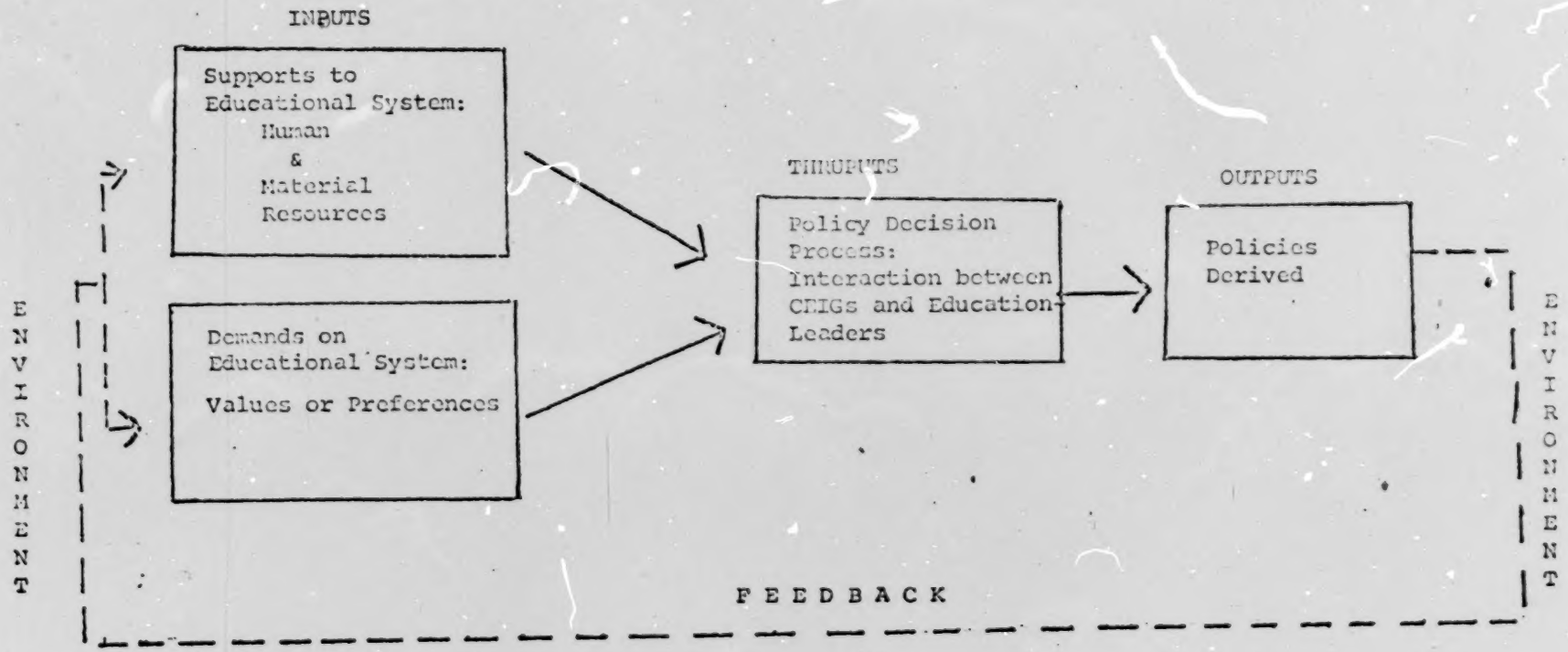
Inputs comprise elements of supports and demands. Support inputs can be categorized as material resources (e.g., dollars and buildings) and human resources (e.g., students and teachers); these supports are necessary for the establishment and maintenance of the system. Demand inputs are the values or preferences that the community presses upon the system which set parameters on the system's goals and procedures. These demands are of particular concern in the case presented below. Since the school system involved is fiscally dependent and the school board is appointed by the municipal government, the citizens of the community have relatively few opportunities to play a direct role in deciding the extent or form of support the district will receive. Thus the CEIGs have little control over limiting resources and must, therefore, focus their activity on presenting demands.

Thruputs comprise the interactions of the CEIGs and the educational leaders. These interactions provide the CEIGs with opportunities to influence policy-related decisions in directions that are supportive of their value positions. The type of relationship that develops is highly dependent upon the value congruence of the CEIGs and the educational leaders. As noted earlier, these interactions can be categorized as normative, utilitarian or coercive.

Outputs are the results or policies which are ultimately derived. Depending upon one's value position, these policy decisions will be viewed along a continuum from highly undesirable to highly desirable. Policy outcomes and how they are viewed will, in turn, affect subsequent relationships between the CEIGs and educational leaders. For example, a CEIG that forms to represent values which are not congruent with those of the system may, through utilitarian and coersive tactics,

Figure II

A System Perspective of CEIG - Education Leader Interactions



be able to alter the system's policies in directions it favors. If so, it is likely that its future interactions with educational leaders will tend to be more toward the normative than the coercive end of the spectrum.

In summary, supports and demands provide the system with initial resources and purposes. Purposes do not remain static because demands change over time. These demands are processed when CEIGs and educational leaders interact. The results of these interactions are the policies derived. The present case is offered as an illustration of this input-thruput-output process for the purpose of clarifying the evolving CEIG-educational leader relationships.

An Illustrative Case

The Setting

The setting is a large urban school system located in the Northeastern part of the United States. In 1972, when the case was examined, more than 65,000 students were enrolled in the public schools and the professional staff numbered approximately 3500. As in most large cities, problems in the schools such as low reading and math scores, overcrowded conditions, breakdowns in discipline, and outbursts of violence had become more and more apparent to community members. These problems were seen by parents as serious detriments to their children's education. Furthermore, many people did not think that the school board, appointed by the mayor and fiscally dependent on the city council, was responsive to the problems facing the schools.

Early in 1972, integration and bussing became issues when the state superintendent ordered the board of education to submit an integration plan to him by April 1 of that year. An earlier integration plan, known as the "4-4-4 Plan", had been devised in the mid-1960's but had never been implemented. The board was presently using limited one-way bussing, but it had not instituted any cross-bussing. During this period as integration and bussing became important issues, new CEIGs emerged to influence the policy decisions that were going to be made by the educational leaders.

In response to the state superintendent's order, a new integration plan was developed under the direction of the educational leaders. The board authorized a plan to be developed by a sub-committee of the school district's Citizen's Advisory Committee and the School Office of Integration. Contrary to the educational leaders' expectations, the Citizen's Advisory sub-committee had little impact in persuading the newly formed CEIGs that the integration plan had educational merits. Generally, the position of the emerging CEIGs was that the Citizen's Advisory sub-committee did not represent the sentiments of their own organizations or

communities.

During this period, many CEIGs began to articulate their beliefs concerning the essential elements of "quality education" for their children. For most groups the issue of bussing was inextricably linked with the issue of "quality education".

After a careful content analysis of the major newspapers of the city, three CEIGs were chosen for study on the basis of the philosophies and attitudes which they held concerning "quality education" and the frequency with which their positions were articulated in the newspapers. These CEIGs are: United for Education (U.F.E.), Dayville Organized Taxpayers (D.O.T.), and Concerned Citizens of the Lake District (C.C.L.D.)*. These CEIGs were all working to influence the educational leaders to make policy decisions in the directions the CEIGs favored. The traditionally normative Parent Teacher's Associations and Citizen's Advisory Board were operating during this period, but they did not appear to play an active role in the policy decision process.

To obtain information, open-ended interviews were held with the presidents or spokesmen of the three CEIGs and with four other members selected at random from each group. Furthermore, the school superintendent, the community relations director, three board members, and four principals were interviewed to obtain information from the educational leaders. The interviews averaged one and a half hours in duration.

The remainder of the paper will analyze the information obtained within the systems framework described earlier. The input section will include the formation, the organizational structure, and the goals of the three CEIGs. The thruput section will describe the interaction between the CEIGs and the educational leaders within the framework of normative, utilitarian, and coercive relationships. Finally, the output section will focus on perceptions of the CEIGs and the educational leaders concerning the extent to which the CEIGs influence policy decision.

Inputs

The three CEIGs under study articulated various educational goals that they wished to see achieved. These goals were important aspects of the demand inputs that the CEIGs pressed upon the educational leaders as they attempted to influence their policy decisions. There are common elements among each of the CEIG's educational goals, as well as their formation and organizational structures.

---

* CEIG names have been changed to honor promises of anonymity.

United for Education (U.F.E.). The members of United for Education had initially become active as a committee in the local teacher's federation. As the federation's Human Rights Commission, the group was charged with the task of drawing up a plan for "quality education". As the plan began to take shape, it became evident that the teacher's federation was not willing to support certain essential parts of the proposed plan. The differences between the members of the commission and the members of the federation grew until the Human Rights Commission, early in 1971, completely broke off from the teacher's federation.

This splinter group formed a CDIG known as United for Education (U.F.E.) which is professionally oriented and whose membership is comprised mainly of teachers. As one member noted, "...the organization is not very organized." There are no officers, constitution, or dues. Although the membership of the group is relatively small (25 in number) the group has been extremely effective in obtaining press coverage for its activities. Each member of the group is considered as equally essential, having his own expertise to contribute to the group. U.F.E. is not representative of a particular neighborhood; rather, it has members from the entire educational community. U.F.E. members say that they are not interested in gaining power for their organization: they just want their plan put into use. As one member noted, "if the plan went into effect tomorrow, nobody in U.F.E. would care whether they ever mentioned U.F.E." The goals of U.F.E. are the same as the four major points of its "quality education" plan:

1. Cultural, racial, and socio-economic integration using cross-bussing.
2. Decentralization of the board of education into individual school boards composed of parents, students, teachers, and administrators who reflect the cultural diversity of the school attendance area.
3. Policy making power for the local school boards.
4. Accountability for all teachers and administrators.

Dayville Organized Taxpayers (D.O.T.). Dayville Organized Taxpayers was formed early in 1971. The members of the Dayville neighborhood felt that government officials and educational leaders were not responsive to their needs. By organizing, they believed they could successfully press for improvements in their neighborhood. These improvements encompass all areas of interest to neighborhood taxpayers, including parks, houses, streets, and schools. During the bussing controversy, D.O.T. focused its attention on the issues involving education and schools. Unlike U.F.E. with its minimal organizational structure, D.O.T. has a formal organization with elected officers, delineated task responsibilities, and

established rules and regulations. It works with a professional community organizer, who is trained in the "Alinsky philosophy and methodology" (Peabody, 1971). He has taught D.O.T. to organize around a single issue at a time so that the organization can have maximum impact. D.O.T.'s membership is large (about 450 members) and continuing to grow.

To work toward the achievement of a more efficient educational system, D.O.T.'s desire to "get their money's worth" reflects its orientation as a taxpayer's organization. As one officer stated:

> "...we pay X number of dollars for a product and the product is education, and if we don't get the product that we pay for, we feel there's something wrong. If you go to the supermarket and you pay two dollars a pound for steak you better get a pretty good piece of meat, and we're the same...if we pay a good chunk of our taxes for education and the children get a poor education, all we can say is that we want a better education or we want our money back...we're taxpayers who want their moneys worth..."

D.O.T. members' concern for "getting their money's worth" means getting "quality education" for their children. To D.O.T. "quality education" means that neighborhood and city schools should be at par with the esteemed suburban schools, especially on achievement tests. D.O.T.'s specific educational objectives include:

1. No forced cross-bussing.
2. Policy-making power for parents and community.
3. Accountability for administrators and teachers.
4. An elected board of education.
5. Stricter discipline in the schools.
6. Overcrowding in the schools to be stopped.
7. Adherence to fire codes in the schools.

Concerned Citizens of the Lake District (C.C.L.D.). Concerned Citizens of the Lake District is the most recently formed of the three CBIGs. Parents who were concerned about the troubles in their neighborhood schools--including fighting, violence, and the breakdown of discipline--joined together late in 1971 to form an organization that could hopefully bring an end to these problems. Since they felt that many of the problems were created by having students bussed-in to their schools, they became especially active when the bussing issue came to the forefront. Organizationally, C.C.L.D. resembles D.O.T.: it has a large membership of 350 dues paying members; it has a formal organizational structure with a constitution, by-laws, and elected officers; and it is localized in one neighborhood.

C.C.L.D.'s most important goal is to obtain "quality education," which the group interprets as bringing "peace back into the schools" by stopping bussing.

> "...we've got some wonderful blacks in our neighborhood that go to the schools--we've got them in all different churches here-but they're people like us. You know, you live in your neighborhood, you take care of your street, make sure your schools are all right and your parks are fine. But the ones that come into the neighborhood don't give a good goddam about anything in this neighborhood... when they come out of school, the stores on this block have to close up...these kids go up the porches, barg on doors. We're trying to get peace back into the schools which we don't have. We've got girls who are being raped, assaulted, incidents that would shock you..."

In addition to bringing peace into the schools and stopping bussing, C.C.L.D. has several specific educational objectives:

1. Policy-making power for parents and community.
2. Accountability for administrators and teachers.
3. An elected board of education.
4. Stricter discipline in the schools.

It is clear that there are common themes as the CEIGs talk about their organizations' goals. Demands for "quality education", "educational efficiency", and "school stability" are inputs that all three CEIGs are demanding of the educational-political system. Quality education has differing, though similar, meanings; educational efficiency and effectiveness mean "better" use of the resources by the educational leaders; and school stability refers to the "peace and harmony" that the CEIGs perceive are lacking in the schools. Furthermore, all three CEIGs want to institute policy-making perogatives for parents and communities and accountability measures for teachers and administrators. In addition, better discipline in the schools and an elected school board are goals shared by two of the groups (M.O.T. and C.C.L.D.). In short, although the three CEIGs differ in their beliefs about the issue of bussing and integration, they share many common educational ideas and goals.

Throughput: Policy-Interaction Processes

With these goals and demands as their particular inputs into the educational-political system, the three CEIGs used various influencing tactics as they interacted with educational leaders to move policy decisions in directions they favored. This section will summarize the tactics used in the normative, utilitarian, and coercive interactions that occurred between the CEIGs and the educational leaders.

Normative Relationship. A normative relationship is one in which the interactions of parties are usually cooperative in nature. Such cooperation is based upon common norms and values. During the period of the study, the traditionally normative CEIGs cooperated with the school officials. However, in doing so, they alienated a large number of community members who felt that methods of cooperation were totally unsatisfactory, especially for dealing with the issue of bussing. The cooperative methods of most of the Parent Teachers Associations and the Citizen's Advisory Board forced many parents to seek affiliation with new groups that would be more responsive to their desire to affect policy decisions. Thus, the CEIGs that had normative relationships with the educational leaders did not get community support and became relatively impotent during this period. The CEIGs that were able to garner support did so by developing utilitarian and coercive relationships with the professional leaders.

Utilitarian Relationship. A utilitarian relationship is one in which participants attempt to persuade each other by employing what Breed (1971) calls "contained conflict." In the present case, as a member of one CEIG concluded: "There are devious ways of approaching them (the educational leaders)...we try to tell them in a nice way that we could get the community very upset unless some things are done..." This "contained conflict" is manifested in emotional and rational arguments.

Emotional arguments appeal to man's beliefs and attitudes rather than to his ability to reason. These arguments usually contain little or no factual information and frequently oversimplify highly complicated and complex situations. Pamphlets, newsletters, and rallies geared to specific events or issues that the CEIGs want people to support are usually based on emotional arguments. The major purpose of this type of argument is immediate action rather than a "process of education."

Each of the CEIGs used emotional arguments to gain support for its organization's point of view. The members of the CEIGs felt that it was essential for people in the community to know about their groups in order to increase their visibility: "...if we cry enough the sleeping people will wake up...the churches, the politicians... we want them to do something..." One CEIG employed a letter entitled "The Children Will Not Survive," whose purpose was to bring parents to a board of education meeting at which the board was to talk about the city's results on the state's testing program: "In all parts of the city students are achieving less and less each year in reading and math. It is shockingly clear that our schools

are failing to give our students the most basic skills they will need for their survival in this society." This type of emotionally laden statement may have encouraged many parents to protest the "failure" of the schools when the bussing issue was debated at the board meeting.

The second utilitarian tactic used by the CEIGs was based on rational arguments. When members of CEIGs used rational arguments to influence their constituents and the educational leaders, they were appealing to logic and reasoning by giving factual information. Factual information that supported their group's position was distributed by the CEIGs with the hope that other people would accept their point of view. Such information was most often disseminated through newsletters, meetings, media coverage, and letter writing. For example, all three CEIGs frequently gave out facts and figures comparing the city and suburbs on the numbers of scholarships, college acceptances, and national merit winners. Thus, the CEIGs attempted to educate the public and the educational leaders by articulating facts that supported their positions.

All three groups used rational arguments but U.F.E., the teacher dominated group, used them considerably more frequently than the other two groups. For example, U.F.E. sponsored a meeting at which representatives from Pontiac, Michigan talked about their ~~successful~~ integration program. These people supported the position of U.F.E. and supplied many factually-based examples and insights as to how to carry out such a program in U.F.E.'s community. Although U.F.E had a comparatively small membership, it was able to attract about 200 people to this meeting.

Thus, both emotional and rational arguments were used by the CEIGs in their utilitarian relationships with the educational leaders. Spokesmen for the groups uniformally felt that both of these methods of arguing produced interactions that kept the educational leaders very much aware of the CEIGs' demands, but that the results of rational arguments were usually slower and less tangible than those obtained by employing emotional arguments.

Coercive Relationships. A coercive relationship is one in which arguments falter and "uncontained" conflict arises. This could involve, for example, boycotts, strikes, and physical harassment. In this study coercive relationships existed between the CEIGs and educational leaders.

Members of the CEIGs claimed that coersion was not a method which they felt they would use against the educational leaders. However the CEIGs were perceived

by the educational leaders as being quite coercive. In discussing meetings he had with members of a CEIG, one administrator said: "When they call a meeting, it's really a ganging up...they storm the building...it's a dangerous way... then the battleground is in the building. They confront the faculty and students..." In support of this contention, he related an incident of racial unrest at a neighborhood high school. Members of one CEIG came to the school, urging the students to walk out and boycott the school. This caused a confrontation and the school was closed at mid-day.

Although the CEIGs do not view themselves as employing coercive tactics, they do admit that they are ignored when they are in small numbers but are more apt to be heard when their numbers are large and confrontations are likely to take place. Thus as one CEIG leader commented: "The Superintendent ignores you when there's only 3 or 4 people...then you're not going to get anything...if we would go down to the Board of Education meeting with 10 people and say, 'We'd like to speak at the beginning of the meeting', they would say, 'I'm sorry but you'll have to wait until it becomes time when we discuss this'. But if we come down with 60 or 70 people we force them to put us on the agenda. When you have so many people there they have to recognize you..."

In short, the CEIGs used coercive methods when they believed that methods of cooperation and argumentation were futile. Although most CEIG members said that they did not want to use coersion against educational leaders, they identified specific situations in which they felt it was the only method that would allow them to achieve their goals.

Outputs

The outputs resulting from the CEIG-educational leader interactions are the policy decisions derived. In speaking to the CEIGs and the educational leaders, it became evident that there was a large discrepancy in perceptions regarding the effects of the CEIGs on policies. In general, the CEIGs felt that the educational leaders were responsive only when the groups developed utilitarian and/or coercive tactics. The educational leaders vehemently disagreed, stating that CEIGs that developed normative relationships and cooperated with the educational leaders were the most effective.

Views of CEIGs. The members of CEIGs felt that before they pressed their demands on the educational leaders they had not been adequately represented by the appointed board of education. They felt that they had to present a position of strength to the educational leaders if they were to have their views taken into

consideration. "We've used the democratic approach but we've found it doesn't get you anywhere. We go through the board of education, the principals...they say 'no.' Then we've got to try other things." To "try other things" means to use emotional, rational and coercive tactics. They perceived that these tactics did indeed lead to desirable results. For example, in response to the state superintendent's order to implement an integration plan, the school board decided by a 4-3 vote to reject the proposed plan. Furthermore it decided that it would not submit any plan to the state superintendent. D.O.T. and C.C.L.D. point to the board of education's rejection of the state superintendent's demand as evidence of their effectiveness. In addition, C.C.L.D., D.O.T., and U.F.E. point to specific schools where they say their influence has caused policy changes. All three groups felt that without their involvement the educational leaders would have been unresponsive to the wishes of the people in the community.

Views of the Educational Leaders. The educational leaders denied that a show of strength was particularly effective. They reported that the means used in showing this strength gave them a negative attitude about the groups and made them respond defensively. For example, the director of the Office of School-Community Relations responded to a CEIC delegation in the following way: "You prove your point by making a great deal of noise, by always having the press with you, by not really listening to answers, by not keeping up communication, but by simply talking, talking, talking." Other educational leaders also had critical statements to make about the CEIGs' tactics of showing their organizations' strength. A board member said that, "pressure groups should be made aware, as they often are not aware, that there can be either effect--there can be adverse effects as well as positive effects." The superintendent stated: "It is not necessary for a group to get so much attention--this might have a negative effect... The groups turn off some board members. The mere fact that they make a lot of noise doesn't mean they make a lot of noise doesn't mean they gain their ends... They're more interested in attracting attention to themselves than in really helping..."

If the educational leaders believe that the community educational interest groups do not gain their ends most effectively by demonstrating their strength, what method(s) do they propose are more effective? In general, the educational leaders stated that the CEIGs would have been more effective if they had limited themselves to cooperative methods. Repeatedly, administrators said that members of the CEIGs should come in and discuss the problems with them: "They should re-

quest to see the principal on a cordial basis."... "They should come in and sit down and talk seriously about their problems without being concerned about news coverage."... "They should consult with them, let them know their goals, and they will make suggestions..." "They should come in and talk to staff members to get facts."

Summary

CEIGs try to influence educational policy in directions that most closely match their preferences. When there is high value congruence between the formal educational system and the CEIGs, the CEIGs tend to evolve strategies that are aimed at promoting the policy decisions of the educational leaders, providing a supportive bridge between the school system and the general community.

While this pattern has sufficed in the past, at present there appears to be a major shift in CEIG-educational leaders' interaction patterns. Many of the traditional CEIGs, such as the PTAs, appear to have relinquished their leadership. At times of crisis, these CEIGs do not meet the needs of many parents who are raising doubts and questions about the decisions of educational leaders. This is especially true in urban settings, where school-community relations are marked more by strife than by common purposes.

As a result new CEIGs are being organized. These CEIGs, having goals that are frequently at odds with the policy positions taken by educational leaders, form relationships with these leaders that can be characterized as utilitarian and coercive. In applying utilitarian strategies, the CEIGs try to convince the educational leaders and the community of their rightful claim to influence the allocation of scarce resources. When these tactics are not perceived by the CEIGs as effective, they often move toward coercive tactics that cause confrontations. These tactics include pickets, boycotts and packed meetings where CEIGs attempt to dominate debate and keep opposing views from being aired.

Educational leaders must keep pace with the influencing strategies of these CEIGs. A return to "the good old days" when educators made decisions and CEIGs enthusiastically carried messages to the community is hardly likely. Rather, we will probably see increasing use of utilitarian and coercive tactics by CEIGs formed to challenge rather than to confirm educational leaders' decisions. These tactics appear to be quite effective. In the present case CEIGs were able to successfully block proposed bussing plans, in part because of the general mood of the community, but also in large measure because of their willingness to employ utilitarian and coercive influencing tactics. The educational leaders were either

unable or unwilling to develop effective counter strategies for dealing with the CBIGs' campaigns.

The strategy gaps that exist between the CBIGs and the educational leaders are presently extensive, and there is every indication that they are continuing to grow. If educational leaders respond defensively and refuse to deal openly with the CBIGs, the CBIGs will feel compelled to move toward coercive tactics, thus further widening the gap between the two groups. There is little evidence to indicate that this trend will be countered until educators realize that a new era of citizen interest group activities has arrived and begin to deal with this reality.

References

BANFIELD, E.C. and J.O. WILSON (1963) City Politics. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press and the M.I.T. Press.

BREED, W. (1971) Self Guilding Society. New York: The Free Press.

CONANT, J.B. (1959) The American High School Today. New York: The New American Library.

ETZIONI, AMITAI (1961) Complex Organizations. New York: The Free Press.

GITTELL, M. (1967) Participants and Participation. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers.

HOLT, J. (1964) How Children Fail. New York: Dell Publishing Company.

KIMBROUGH, R.B. (1964) Political Power and Educational Decision-Making. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co.

KNEZEVICH, S.J. (1969) Administration of Public Education. New York: The Free Press.

MILSTEIN, M.M. and J.A. BELASCO (1973) Educational Administration and the Behavioral Sciences: A Systems Perspective. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc.

PEABODY, G.L. (1971) "Power, Alinsky and Other Thoughts", in H.A. Hornstein et.al. (eds.) Social Intervention. New York: The Free Press.

SILBERMAN, CHARLES (1970) Crisis in the Classroom. New York: Random House.

SUMMERFIELD, H.L. (1971) The Neighborhood-Based Politics of Education. Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company.

TRUMAN, D.B. (1951) The Governmental Process. New York: Alfred A. Knoph, Inc.

WIRT, F.M. and M.W. KIRST (1972) The Political Web of American Schools. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.